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Editorial

After almost 50 years of the Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter, it has become clear that research on the thirteenth-century Dominican has fluctuated quite a bit. Sometimes researchers renew their attention to Vincent's oeuvre, but sometimes his works disappear somewhat from current research. This, incidentally, is a logical and general evolution within the medieval research landscape. As a result, this year, we cannot present a Feature Article by one of our readers or a new scholar in the field. Therefore, it seemed the right time for us to draw attention to an underexposed topic of the study of the *Speculum Maius*. Elaborating on a part of his PhD, Hans Voorbij presents in this Newsletter recommendations for the use of the early editions, both in print and online, of Vincent's work. Indeed, few researchers are aware of the interventions by editors and printers and the potential complications this brings to the use of editions.

Eva Albrecht briefly announces that she will publish a comprehensive monograph on the genesis of the *Speculum Maius* over the next year.

We conclude this editorial by appealing for contributions, especially Feature Articles. We would be grateful for any information you can provide on papers, articles, books, or reviews of Vincent of Beauvais that you have presented or published.

Please send all your information to info.vincentiusbelvacensis@gmail.com
Hans Voorbij and Eva Albrecht

Editions of the *Speculum Maius*:

Which edition would be the best to use?

Hans Voorbij

Introduction

It is well enough known that many manuscripts and editions of the *Speculum Maius* by Vincent of Beauvais have survived. In recent years, we have repeatedly received questions about the editions, particularly the quality of their text and how best to use them regarding Vincent's text. We have therefore collected our observations in these editions and recommendations for their use in an overview (see Appendix).[1] However, this overview requires a few preliminary remarks that shed a different light on some editions than previous analyses.

To understand how those editions represent Vincent's text, we must first consider what the *Speculum Maius* looks like in the manuscripts. From the early beginning of compiling his work, Vincent of Beauvais envisioned that because of the enormous size of the *Speculum Maius,* only a few people could afford a full handwritten copy.[2] Around 1245, the work had two parts: a *Speculum Naturale* on natural history, the *artes* and sciences, and morals; and a *Speculum Historiale* containing historiography and florilegia from works by classical and medieval authors. Vincent

*I greatly appreciate the help of Eva Albrecht, who shared her findings in editions of the *Speculum Maius* with me and commented on an earlier version of this contribution.

[1] The information on the editions of the *Speculum Maius* presented here was largely collected by Hans Voorbij in the 1980s and supplemented by subsequent findings by Eva Albrecht; see J.B. Voorbij, *Het 'Speculum Historiale' van Vincent van Beauvais. Een studie van zijn ontstaansgeschiedenis*. Groningen, 1991, p. 340-346; E. Albrecht, *De ontstaansgeschiedenis en de compilatie van het "Speculum Naturale" van Vincent van Beauvais († 1264)*, Ph.D. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Louvain 2007, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 45-49. See the Appendix below for further bibliographical information and some critical observations.

[2] In anticipation of the discussion below: the surviving manuscripts of the *Speculum Maius* show that Vincent's expectations were correct. The *Speculum Historiale* was the most popular part of the *Speculum Maius*; the circa 250 manuscripts known today attest to this popularity. Manuscripts of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Doctrinale* are less numerous; those of the apocryphal *Speculum Morale* are scarce. A handwritten copy of the full *Speculum Maius* was rare; so far, only two complete copies have been found. See the Vincent of Beauvais website for more information: https://www.vincentiusbelvacensis.eu/speculum-maius-1.

made it possible for each part to circulate as a self-contained work. To facilitate this, he included, at the front of each part, a general introduction to the entire *Speculum Maius* (*Libellus Apologeticus*, from here on *LA*) and a short prologue introducing the *speculum* in question. These two introductory texts, together with the list of chapter titles, make up the first book of that *speculum*; in the subsequent series of books, the actual content of the *speculum* in question follows.

The *Speculum Maius* grew in the years 1240-1260 from a two-part to a three-part to a (planned) four-part work, comprising a *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale*, and *Speculum Historiale*. Vincent planned another fourth part, a *Speculum Morale*, but whether he could complete that work is unclear. The *Speculum Morale* as we know it today is an apocryphal text compiled circa 1310-1320.[3]

It took Vincent of Beauvais about two decades to develop this concept fully. Several versions of the authentic *specula* testify to this development. Today, we know of four subsequent versions of the *Speculum Naturale*: the Tournai, Oxford, Douai, and Bruges versions.[4] The *Speculum Doctrinale*, originally part of the *Speculum Naturale* and dealing with the *artes* and sciences, has survived in only one version. Of the *Speculum Historiale*, we know of five versions: the Dijon, Klosterneuburg, Vienna, Saint-Jacques, and Douai versions, in that order.[5]

Which versions of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Historiale* have found their way to the printing press or the internet? Editors and printers only produced an edition of the penultimate (!) version, the Douai version, of the *Speculum Naturale*, in 33 books. Two versions of the *Speculum Historiale* appeared in print: the first (Dijon), divided into 31 books, and the final (Douai) with 32 books. Editors and printers, however, even in our digital age, applied interventions to Vincent's text, leading to confusion and incorrect references.

2. What is *Vincent*'s text?

Of all the editions of the *Speculum Maius*, that of Douai 1624—with its four volumes *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale*, *Speculum Morale* and *Speculum Historiale*—is the best known and

[3] See C. J. Mews and T. Zahora, 'Remembering last things and regulating behaviour in the early fourteenth century: From the *De consideratione novissimorum* to the *Speculum morale*', in *Speculum*, 90 (2015), p. 960-994.
[4] Albrecht, *o.c.*, vol. 1, p. 45 discovered that the surviving manuscripts of the Douai version lack the text of books XIII, XIV and XV; so we must rely entirely on the editions under discussion here for that part of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale*. Simon Tugwell established the order in which the four versions were produced; see his 'Soundings in Exeter College MS 15 and the evolution of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Naturale*', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, Nova Series* II (2017), p. 5-156, especially p. 139.
[5] See Voorbij, *o.c.*

most popular.[6] It has also received the most severe criticism from Vincent scholars.[7] That criticism, however, requires some nuance. This edition, delivered by the Benedictines of the monastery of Saint-Vaast in Arras and printed by Balthasar Bellère in Douai, is a child of its time and a product of previous editions.

Following the statement in their preface, the editors consulted two earlier editions and several manuscripts. In addition, they verified the sources quoted by Vincent in contemporary editions and, at their discretion, corrected Vincent's quotations.[8] Indeed, in hundreds of places in the margins of the Douai 1624 edition, one finds additions, corrections or variant readings to the cited sources. An asterisk (*) or the word *alias* usually marks them, or a short commentary, mostly printed in italics. Noteworthy are the many longer and shorter annotations and (theological) commentaries the editors included in the margins or between the chapters of the running text. The editors also adjusted the spelling to early seventeenth-century standards. Finally, they included texts at the front of each volume, partly borrowed from humanist authors, which commend to the benevolent reader the *speculum* the volume contains.

However, anyone who can see through all these issues sees a text edition that is as (un–) reliable as its predecessors and deserves the same scholarly criticism as almost all previous editions. That criticism concerns alterations to Vincent's quotations from his sources. However, one topic that has received little attention so far is how several editions present the concept of a quadripartite *Speculum Maius*. Our remarks address these two topics.

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[6] Benedictini collegii Vedastini (eds), *Bibliotheca Mundi. Vincentii Burgundi, ex ordine Praedicatorum venerabilis episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum Quadruplex, Naturale, Doctrinale, Morale, Historiale ...*, 4 vols, Duaci 1624 (henceforth referred to as Douai 1624). This edition was anastatically reprinted in Graz 1964-1965, making it available in many libraries.

[7] See, notably, P. C. F. Daunou, 'Vincent de Beauvais, auteur du 'Speculum maius' terminé en 1256', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 18 (Paris 1835), pp. 449-519, here p. 470: "Ils [= les Bénédictins de Saint-Vaast d'Arras] n'ont rien vérifié, rien examiné; (…) ils n'ont joint à son texte qu'un petit nombre d'annotations vulgaires, presque toutes erronées ou superflues."; K. Young, 'The 'Speculum majus' of Vincent of Beauvais', in *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 5 (1930), p. 1-13, here p. 3: "This is not to be recorded among the scholarly glories of the Order of Saint Benedict, for it exhibits a low standard of textual fidelity, and its annotations are largely negligible."; B.L. Ullman, 'Classical authors in certain mediaeval *florilegia*', in *Classical Philology*, 27 (1932), p. 1-42, here p. 42: "(…) they [= the editions] have many mistakes. The most recent edition, that of Douai (1624), is the worst offender, especially because it alters the language of the quotations to accord with the vulgate text of the authors cited"; *id.*, 'A project for a new edition of Vincent of Beauvais', in *Speculum* 8 (1933), p. 312-326, here p. 325: "The first [editions] are the best; the later ones become progressively worse. The last, that of 1624, is quite impossible on account of the constant 'correction' of quotations to agree with the printed editions of the day"; echoed by G. G. Guzman, 'The Cambron manuscript of the 'Speculum Historiale'', in *Manuscripta*, 13 (1969), p. 95-104, here p. 96-97; and B. L. Ullman, 'The need for a new edition of Vincent de Beauvais', in *Actes du Premier Congrès de la Fédération internationale des Associations d'Études classiques*, Paris 1951, p. 254-257, here p. 255: "But they [= the editions] are not well done, least of all the Douai edition of 1624, though that is the most readable and most easily handled."

[8] Douai 1624, vol. 1, p. xii. This statement is quoted in full in the Appendix.

2.1. A post-medieval unification of four parts

We focus first on Book I: it offers, in each of the three authentic *specula*, the *Libellus Apologeticus* (*LA*), a short prologue to the *speculum* in question and the list of chapter titles of that *speculum*.[9] We outlined above that the *Speculum Maius* grew from a bipartite to a (planned) quadripartite work. The *LA* bears clear traces of this development; thus, several versions of this general introduction exist, each representing a particular stage of the *Speculum Maius*.[10] Relevant in our discussion of the editions are the versions of the *LA* belonging to the *Speculum Doctrinale* (tripartite *Speculum Maius*) and the Douai versions of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Historiale* (both quadripartite *Speculum Maius*).[11]

More or less at the same time as his father-in-law Johannes Mentelin, who produced editions of the *Speculum Historiale* and the apocryphal *Speculum Morale* in the years 1473-1476, Adolf Rusch published in Strasbourg between c. 1475 and 1478 the *specula Naturale*, *Doctrinale* and *Historiale*—that is the complete authentic *Speculum Maius*. Presumably, Rusch tried to resolve a contradiction in the *LA*. After all, in Vincent's text, the Douai version of the *LA* speaks of a quadripartite *Speculum Maius*, while the *LA* speaks of a tripartite work in the *Speculum Doctrinale*. In his edition of the *Speculum Doctrinale*, Rusch replaced the corresponding *LA* with the *LA* from the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale*, which he had published earlier. As an unfortunate result, all parts of his tripartite edition speak of a quadripartite *Speculum Maius* (ch. 16: *De quadrifaria diuisione totius* [*operis*]).

Perhaps combining the work of Mentelin and Rusch gave Anton Koberger the idea of publishing a quadripartite edition of the *Speculum Maius* in four volumes, including the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*? Between 1481 and 1486, he published at Nuremberg this four-volume *Speculum Maius*, including Rusch's adaptation of the *LA* in the *Speculum Doctrinale*. The three editions published after 1490—those by Hermann Liechtenstein in 1493-1494 and Domenico Nicolini in

[9] Starting with the fourth version (Saint-Jacques) of the *Speculum Historiale*, Vincent also included an extensive alphabetical index in that *speculum*, which returns in an abbreviated form in the final (Douai) version; we will come to this below. For the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Doctrinale*, as far as is known, Vincent did not prepare such an index.

[10] For a critical edition of the *LA*, showing the different stages of this prologue, see A.-D. Von den Brincken, 'Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vincenz von Beauvais. Die 'Apologia Actoris' zum 'Speculum Maius'', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34 (1978), p. 410-499, here p. 465-499. The apocryphal *Speculum Morale* also has a prologue, preserved in only one manuscript; see Mews and Zahora, *o.c.*, p. 993-994. Since this prologue does not appear in the editions of the *Speculum Morale*, we will leave it aside further.

[11] The key differences are in chapters 10, 16, 17, and 19 of the *LA* in the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Historiale*, and in chapters 10, 11, 17, and 18 of the *LA* in the *Speculum Doctrinale*.

1591, both at Venice, and Douai in 1624—also present a quadripartite *Speculum Maius* in four volumes. From these editions emerges the image of a unity of four parts that the *Speculum Maius* did not achieve in the manuscript age. Hermann Liechtenstein's bold interventions augmented that image.

Liechtenstein's 1493-1494 edition is the source of considerable confusion in scholarly references to the *Speculum Maius*. From his edition, the first book of each of the three authentic *specula* no longer comprises the *LA*, a short prologue and the list of chapter titles of the respective *speculum*. Liechtenstein printed the *LA* only once, putting it at the front of the volume containing the *Speculum Naturale*. Considering that Rusch's and Koberger's editions printed the same *LA* three times, we might call this a cost-saving intervention. Liechtenstein also put the short prologue and the list of chapter titles separately, outside the text of the *Speculum Naturale*, and lowered the numeration of the books by one. He, too, applied this same process to the *Speculum Doctrinale* and *Speculum Historiale* (for details, see the Appendix). As of Liechtenstein's edition, the *Speculum Naturale* thus has 32 instead of 33 books; the *Speculum Doctrinale* 17 instead of 18 books; and the *Speculum Historiale* 31 instead of 32 books. No such interventions affected the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*.

Nicolini's 1591 and the Douai 1624 editions adopted Liechtenstein's interventions with the *LA* and book numeration. A detail in Liechtenstein's edition gained prominence on the title pages of the latter two editions. In the introductions to the list of chapter titles of the *Speculum Doctrinale* and the alphabetical index to the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*, Liechtenstein granted Vincent the title of bishop of Beauvais ("Vincentii Beluacensis Episcopi"). On the pompous title pages in Nicolini's four-volume edition, this title subsequently appeared prominently as "praesul Belvacensis", which the Douai 1624 editors blindly adopted.[12] The latter edition went a step further by amplifying the title of Vincent's work to *Bibliotheca Mundi*.

2.2. Modernisation and further adaptations

From 1928 to 1932, Berthold Ullman published four articles on medieval Latin florilegia from classical authors in *Classical Philology*. He pointed out the many, often *verbatim*, parallels between quotations from classical authors appearing in the *Speculum Maius* and the thirteenth-century

[12] Continuing on this, the editors of Douai 1624 suggested that because of his obligations as a bishop, Vincent might not have been able to complete the *Speculum Doctrinale*, whose text has an abrupt ending; see note 45 below, which quotes this statement.

manuscript Paris, BnF lat. 17,903, which we know today as the *Florilegium Gallicum*. Ullman identified this manuscript as possibly Vincent's source.[13]

Relevant to our argument are Ullman's observations regarding Vincent's quotations. They were based on the printed editions of the *Speculum Maius* and focused on the *Speculum Historiale* and *Speculum Doctrinale*. Repeatedly pointing to coincidental errors (misprints) or emendations by the printers, Ullman gradually became more firm in asserting that the editions were corrupt, that the "first edition of Strasburg"[14] was superior, and that the text quality of the later ones gradually deteriorated. Ullman, citing quotations from Ovid, Horace, and other classical authors, showed the printers' tampering with Vincent's text, highlighting "signs of modernization of the quotations" in the printed editions based on the 'vulgate' text—changes taken from contemporary editions of those authors.[15]

This is salient in Vincent's florilegium of Ovid (*Speculum Historiale* VII, 108-122). Ullman noted a surprising difference in this anthology between the Strasbourg and Douai editions: in the latter, it counts 52 lines more than in the former. We could not reconstruct how Ullman arrived at this number of 52, but it was certainly too low. *Speculum Historiale* VII, 113 alone includes 65 lines extra from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* that we do not know from the surviving manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale*; they make this chapter twice as long as in the manuscripts. Perhaps more surprisingly, contrary to what Ullman would have us believe[16], this major interpolation already appears in the Rusch edition (1478) of the *Speculum Historiale*. The editions of Anton Koberger (1483), Herman Liechtenstein (1494), Dominico Nicolini (1591), and Douai (1624) all copied it unabridged.[17]

However, the editions of the *Speculum Naturale* present an even larger number of interventions. Eva Albrecht highlighted a curious interpolation in book XVII, which deals with birds. Chapter XVII, 71, contains a long treatise on falcons. The text in Rusch's edition from 1476 or earlier

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[13] B. L. Ullman, 'Tibullus in the mediaeval *florilegia*', in *Classical Philology*, 23 (1928), p. 128-174, here p. 156: "We can hardly escape the conclusion that *n* [= Paris lat. 17,903] was one of them, and that it had been in the same town [= Beauvais] since Vincent examined and perhaps owned it." For the other articles by Ullman relevant to Vincent's quotations, see note 7 above. For a recent overview on the state of research into the *Florilegium Gallicum*, see S. Franzoni, 'Il *Florilegium Gallicum*: un oggetto senza senso? Riflessioni sui contenuti e l'organizzazione di un florilegio classico del xii secolo', in S. Franzoni, E. Lonati and A. Russo, *Le sens des textes classiques au Moyen Âge: Transmission, exégèse, réécriture*, Turnhout 2022, p. 81-100.
[14] Ullman, *Classical authors …*, p. 13, n. 1. Judging from the Ovid *florilegium* we will discuss in the next paragraph, we infer that Ullman refers to Mentelin's 1473 edition here.
[15] *Ibidem*, p. 13 and 18.
[16] *Ibidem*, p. 12 n. 4.
[17] The Strasburg 1473 edition by Johannes Mentelin and the Augsburg 1474 edition by the printing shop of St. Ulrich's and St. Afra's Abbey do not have this interpolation. In the editions of the *Speculum Doctrinale*, we have not found any long interpolations so far. The changes to quotations from classical authors made by the printers seem limited to the phenomena described by Ullman in his articles.

is twice as long as in the manuscripts, including long extracts from Albertus Magnus's *De Animalibus* that are not found in any version of the *Speculum Naturale*.[18] Simon Tugwell found alterations to Vincent's text at several places in the Rusch edition, including quotations from Pliny the Elder and Saint Augustine drawn from contemporary editions.[19] Recently, Albrecht discovered that in Book 33, in the section on the habitable world, Rusch and his collaborators, under the heading *Actor*, introduced a series of comments and remarks to the geographical descriptions that are also not known from any version of the *Speculum Naturale*.[20] The later printers of the *Speculum Naturale*—the 'Printer of the Legenda Aurea' (c. 1481) or Koberger (c. 1481)[21], Liechtenstein (1494), Nicolini (1591) and Douai (1624)—all adopted these interpolations.

One might wonder whether these insertions might have occurred anyway in the manuscripts that served as the exemplars for the Rusch editions. But surely it would be quite a coincidence that precisely the manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Speculum Naturale* used by Rusch and his collaborators contained these interpolations. If we include the intervention in the *LA* described above, we can only assume that the interpolations are the work of Rusch and his staff.

Rusch, however, was not the only printer who handled Vincent's text freely. The editors responsible for the edition published at Augsburg in 1474 by the printing shop of St Ulrich's and St Afra's Abbey used manuscripts of the Dijon and Douai versions of the *Speculum Historiale* as exemplars. On this basis, they constructed their own rendering of the *Speculum Historiale* that offers the 'best' of those two versions (see the description in the Appendix). The subsequent printers did not follow suit.[22]

The champion of interventions is, without doubt, Hermann Liechtenstein. He introduced changes to all parts of the *Speculum Maius* (see the Appendix), but most striking is the extensive continuation at the end of the *Speculum Historiale*, which covers over forty pages. Liechtenstein continued Vincent's historiography from the mid-thirteenth century to 1493, for which he copied

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[18] Albrecht, *o.c.*, vol. 1, p. 51-52. Albrecht verified this interpolation, based on an earlier observation by Baudouin Van den Abeele, 'Vincent de Beauvais naturaliste: les sources des livres d'animaux du 'Speculum naturale'', in S. Lusignan and M. Paulmier-Foucart (eds), and M.-C. Duchenne (coll.), *Lector et compilator. Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur. Un intellectuel et son milieu au XIIIe siècle*, Grâne (Editions Créaphis), 1997 (Rencontres à Royaumont), p. 127-151, here p. 151 n. 79.
[19] Tugwell, *o.c.*, p. 19-20.
[20] Oral communication by Albrecht, who will discuss these additions in detail in her forthcoming study on the *Speculum Maius*. I thank Eva Albrecht for sharing this surprising information.
[21] Possibly, the 'Printer of the Legenda Aurea' printed his *Speculum Naturale* on commission from Anton Koberger; see the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (*ISTC*) of the British Library, No. iv00293000, with further references.
[22] We advise against using the Augsburg 1474 edition, unless for specific purposes.

extensively from Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*, anonymously referred to as "cronica nova".[23] About a century later, in 1591, Dominico Nicolini printed a re-edition of Liechtenstein's text, refining the format of his continuation. Finally, the editors of the 1624 Douai edition, to their credit, omitted the continuation at the end of the *Speculum Historiale*, but they failed to reconstruct Vincent's original text here. The latter is astonishing because the editors claimed to have consulted manuscripts of the *Speculum Maius* (see above). In their very own library at Arras, there was a copy of the *Speculum Historiale* that contains the correct text of the final section of this *speculum*. Surely it should have taken them little effort to reproduce Vincent's text correctly in their edition?[24]

The *Speculum Historiale* printed by Johannes Mentelin in 1473, is the only edition in which scholars have not yet found textual interventions. We might call it a superior edition if Mentelin had not omitted an important element: the paratext. Vincent took great care to make his work accessible. He intended to give the reader easy and quick access to the contents of the *specula* by including a list of chapter titles at the front of each *speculum*; in the *Speculum Historiale,* he also incorporated an alphabetical index.[25] But the manuscripts of the *Speculum Maius* from the very first version provide another retrieval mechanism: page headers that mention the book number and describe in a few words the contents of the open page (*e.g.*, "Tempora Alexandri Magni", "Flosculi Senece", "De imperio Karoli Magni", or "Flores Bernardi"). In his edition of the *Speculum Historiale*, Mentelin included the list of chapter titles and the alphabetical index, but not the page headers. The users of this edition need expert knowledge of medieval historiography and writings of classical and medieval authors to find their way around the Mentelin edition effectively.[26] As page numbers are missing, the user has no other way to refer to pages in this edition than handwritten pagination by diligent librarians of the modern era. This is a problem the user faces in other editions as well. The Augsburg 1474 edition of the *Speculum Historiale* has handwritten indications like "Liber Primus", "Liber Secundus", etc., in the top margins but lacks page numbers, and so do Rusch's editions of the *specula Doctrinale* and *Historiale*. In the subsequent editions, those indications

[23] Anton Koberger published Hartmann Schedel's *Chronica* in Nuremberg on July 12, 1493; see the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, number M40784, for further references. Vincent's *Speculum Historiale*, by the way, was an important source for Hartmann Schedel's work.
[24] This is manuscript Arras, Mediathèque municipale 566, vol. 3. We cannot rule out that this manuscript was not available in the library of Saint-Vaast at Arras around 1624. Besides, it is unknown which manuscripts the editors consulted to verify the text of the other *specula*. In any case, they checked whether the text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* ends as abruptly in the manuscripts as in the previous editions; see Douai 1624, vol. 1, p. xii (quoted in the Appendix, in note 45).
[25] For Vincent's alphabetical index to the *Speculum Historiale*, see note 9 above.
[26] In his edition of the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*, on the other hand, Mentelin included page headers with references to *partes* and *distinctiones* and brief indications of the contents. Koberger also included such page headers in his 1485 edition of the *Speculum Morale*; he omitted them in those of the other *specula*.

appear in printed form. Herman Liechtenstein's four-volume edition of the *Speculum Maius* from 1493-1494 debuted the consistent use of foliation, which Nicolini adopted. Finally, we must credit the edition of Douai 1624 for fully restoring detailed paratext, coupled with the continuous numbering of the text columns.

We may conclude that there are some critical comments to be made for all editions about their rendering of Vincent's text—least for Mentelin's edition, most for the editions by Liechtenstein, Nicolini and Douai. This does not mean we would be better off consigning those editions to the wastepaper basket—quite the contrary. We may certainly also highlight the positive aspects of those editions. After all, thousands of passages counterbalance the interventions described above, where the editions faithfully render Vincent's text, as we have observed for ourselves frequently, and we should certainly praise their printers who took the risk of releasing such a voluminous work. Considering the enormous size of the *Speculum Maius*, with over 4 million words (not counting the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*), the signalled interventions in the running text, however significant, are relatively small. But this is no guarantee that, apart from the cases described above, the editions are trustworthy without fail.

3. Editions of the *Speculum Maius* in the digital era

Digital reproductions of all the editions discussed above are available online. The Appendix below lists a GW number for each incunabulum edition (pre-1500). This refers to the *Gesammtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*, where one can find the most up-to-date hyperlinks to those editions under the respective numbers. For the post-1500 editions, we list hyperlinks to digital reproductions in the footnotes.

We should certainly mention an important digital tool here. The former Nancy-based Atelier Vincent de Beauvais has spent many years making the complete text of the authentic *Speculum Maius* available digitally. This has been accessible for some years now via the website SourcEncyMe (Sources des Encylopédies Médiévales: https://sourcencyme.irht.cnrs.fr/), made available by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris.[27] The texts of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Doctrinale* are based on the Douai 1624 edition. Therefore, the objections discussed above against the Douai 1624 edition apply to these digital editions, including the odd numeration

[27] See https://sourcencyme.irht.cnrs.fr/historique for the history of the creation of this digital work.

of the books of both *specula*. The user should also be conscious that SourceEncyMe does not offer the final version (= Bruges version, with 32 books) of Vincent's *Speculum Naturale*, but the penultimate one (= Douai version, with 33 books). The Bruges version differs from the Douai version in books VI, XIII, XIV, and XV, containing more and different content; its book XXII corresponds to books XXII-XXIII in the Douai version.[28]

The *Speculum Historiale* in SourceEncyMe also confronts us with a somewhat unfortunate situation. Here, the book numbering is in order. The problem lies with the choice of the manuscript on which the digital transcription is based: Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 797 (c. 1280-1300), which comes in four volumes. While volumes 2, 3 and 4 represent the final (Douai) version of the *Speculum Historiale*, the first volume, comprising books I to VIII, contains an earlier version (the Saint-Jacques version), which differs from the final version in several respects.[29] One can easily overcome this problem by consulting another manuscript of the *Speculum Historiale*.[30]

By analogy with what we have noted above for the Douai 1624 edition, the scholar who can see through these objections, with the digital edition of the *Speculum Maius* in SourEncyMe and the search facilities available, has a wonderful research tool at his disposal. However, for literal quotations from the specific sections mentioned in the *Speculum Naturale* and *Speculum Historiale*, we advise to check them in a manuscript.

4. Conclusion

We have a poignant question for our scholarly readers. Would you find it acceptable that there are systematic errors (perhaps always the same error) in bibliographical references to *your own* publications? We call for correctly referring to the three authentic *specula* that make up the *Speculum Maius* of Vincent of Beauvais. If you use a manuscript for this purpose or use the Mentelin, Rusch or Koberger editions, it will usually not be difficult to provide correct references.

For example, where manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale* (Douai version) count the fifth book as V, the editions of Mentelin, Rusch, and Koberger follow faithfully. However, the editions of

[28] See Albrecht, *o.c.*, vol. 1, p. 45-49.
[29] These differences are most visible in the alphabetical register and books IV and V containing the history of Alexander the Great, but differences are also present elsewhere; *cf.* Voorbij, *o.c.*, p. 278-279.
[30] We recommend the manuscript Liège, Bibliothèque générale de l'université, 60 E for this purpose which contains a reliable text of books I to XVI.

Liechtenstein, Nicolini, and Douai count it as book IV because of the interventions discussed above.[31] It is a minor effort to numerate following Vincent's original text.

Our discussion of the editions of the *Speculum Maius*, combined with the Appendix below, can serve as an 'instruction manual' for scholars of the *opus magnum* of Vincent of Beauvais. It is now up to Vincent scholars to choose soundly from the wealth of options.

APPENDIX

An overview of editions of the *Speculum Maius*[32]

We restrict our overview to those editions that contain a full text of one or more *specula*. Digital reproductions of all the editions discussed above are available online.

Beginning in 1473, we present the editions chronologically by printer. The overview specifies which version(s) of the *speculum* those editions publish (if applicable). We also briefly discuss which major discrepancies from the standard text of the manuscripts we found in those editions.

After each incunabulum edition (pre-1500), a GW number in square brackets refers to the description of the respective edition in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*. In those descriptions, under 'Reproduktionen ... (*Digitalisat*)', one finds the most recent hyperlinks giving access to digitised reproductions available for online consultation.[33] For the two editions published after 1500, we list hyperlinks to digitised copies in a footnote.

1. Johannes Mentelin, Strasbourg (1473-1476)

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale* (dated December 4, 1473) [GW M50587]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to the manuscripts of this version.

- ✓ *Speculum Morale* (dated November 9, 1476) [GW M50617]
  Apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.

[31] Book V corresponds to Book III in the Augsburg 1474 edition, following the Dijon version of the *Speculum Historiale*. We advise against using the Augsburg edition that contains a contamination of the Dijon and Douai versions, unless for specific purposes (*cf.* the Appendix below).
[32] *Cf.* note 1.
[33] If a link seems inactive, check the library's website to see if the edition is still available online or not.

2. Printing shop of St. Ulrich's and St. Afra's Abbey, Augsburg (1474)

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale* [GW M50570]
  This edition presents in 31 books a contamination of the Dijon and Douai versions.
  The editors of this incunabulum edition compared four manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale*, based on which they compiled a rectified text.[34] We have identified three of the manuscripts used: two represent the Dijon version, and the third is in the Douai version.[35] The fourth manuscript has not been traced so far.
  The Augsburg edition most closely corresponds to the Dijon version. It follows the Dijon version's division into 31 books. Also conforming to this version, the edition opens with a letter of presentation by Vincent to King Louis IX of France. However, the subsequent general prologue to the *Speculum Maius* (*Libellus Apologeticus*), followed by the short prologue introducing the *Speculum Historiale*, conforms to the Douai version. The Augsburg edition incorporates 29 complete chapters and additional larger and smaller sections from the Douai version, supplementing the text in several places; these additions do not appear in the manuscripts of the Dijon version.
  We do not recommend using the Augsburg edition unless for specific purposes.

3. Adolf Rusch, Strasbourg (ca. 1475-1478)

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale* (not after 1476): [GW M50635]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to the manuscripts[36] of this version, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

- ✓ *Speculum Doctrinale* (before February 11, 1478): [GW M50560]
  Text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* that corresponds to the manuscripts, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale* (dated September 27, 1478) [GW M50582]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to the manuscripts of this version, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

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[34] This is evident from Michael Denis' *Supplementum* (Saint-Omer, 1789) to Michael Mattaire's *Annales Typographica*, which on p. 786 quotes a late fifteenth-century advertisement text for the Augsburg edition. The advertisement text is reprinted from Denis' *Supplementum* in the *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum* (Part I, London, 1908, vol. 2, p. 339).
[35] The three manuscripts are: Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II.1.fol. 194, vols. 1-4, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 28184 + clm 7988 (both Dijon version); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 17416 + clm 17417 + clm 17418 (Douai version). All three manuscripts contain instructions for the printers of the Augsburg edition.
[36] The surviving manuscripts of the Douai version lack the text of books XIII, XIV and XV; see note 4 above.

4. Conrad Winters, of Homborch, Cologne (circa 1477)

- ✓ *Speculum Morale* [GW M50610]
  Apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.

5. 'Printer of the Legenda Aurea', Strasbourg (before December 13, 1481, possibly printed for Anton Koberger in Nuremberg)[37]

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale* [GW M50625]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to the manuscripts of this version, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

6. Anton Koberger, Nuremberg (1481-1486)

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale* (before December 13, 1481, possibly printed by the 'Printer of the Legenda Aurea' in Strasbourg, mentioned above) [GW M50625]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to the manuscripts of this version, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale* (dated July 24, 1483) [GW M50576]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to the manuscripts of this version, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

- ✓ *Speculum Morale* (dated February 6, 1485) [GW M50612]
  Apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Doctrinale* (March 16, 1486) [GW M50555]
  Text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* that corresponds to the manuscripts, with adaptations (see discussion above, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

Anton Koberger was the first printer to release a quadripartite *Speculum Maius*.

7. Hermann Liechtenstein, Venice (1493-1494)

- ✓ *Speculum Morale* (September 30, 1493) [GW M50621]
  Apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.

[37] See note 21 above.

- ✓ *Speculum Doctrinale* (January 13, 1494) [GW M50566]
  Text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* that corresponds to books 2-18 of the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale* (May 15, 1494) [GW M50639]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to books 2-33 of the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale* (September 5, 1494) [GW M50593]
  Text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to books 2-32 of the manuscripts.

Hermann Liechtenstein's edition is the source of much confusion regarding quotations from the *Speculum Maius*. The manuscripts of the *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale* and *Speculum Historiale* usually each contain, as part of the text of the book I, the *Libellus Apologeticus* (*LA*) or general prologue to the *Speculum Maius*, followed by a short prologue that specifically introduces the *speculum* in question and the list of all the chapter titles of that *speculum*. However, Liechtenstein printed the *LA* only once: at the beginning of the *Speculum Naturale*; he included the version of the *LA* belonging to the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale*.

Liechtenstein also put the two remaining components of the original book I at the front of the *Speculum Naturale*, following the LA, adding an alphabetical subject index of his own.[38] He took a similar approach in his editions of the *Speculum Doctrinale* and *Speculum Historiale*.[39] Going on from these major adaptations, Liechtenstein reduced the book numbering of the *Speculum Naturale* (33 books), *Speculum Doctrinale* (18 books), and *Speculum Historiale* (32 books) by one (32, 17, and 31 books, respectively). Liechtenstein only spared the apocryphal text of the *Speculum Morale*, which lacks prologues in any of the printed editions, of these interventions.

Apart from these reductions, Hermann Liechtenstein made several major expansions to the *Speculum Historiale*. He added long text passages to the front of the edition and the back, the ultimate book. Liechtenstein adopted this material, without citing his source, from Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*, using the edition that Anton Koberger had completed in Nuremberg on July 12, 1493.[40] After the alphabetical index and preceding the first book, Liechtenstein adopted three treatises on the Roman emperors and the election of emperors and the King of the Romans.[41]

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[38] The manuscripts of the *Speculum Naturale* do not have an alphabetical index. The same applies to the manuscripts of the *Speculum Doctrinale*.

[39] As noted in note 9 above, Vincent included an alphabetical subject index in the Saint-Jacques and Douai versions of the *Speculum Historiale*. Assuming that the text of the *Speculum Historiale* would be distributed over four volumes of eight books each because of its size, Vincent had also divided this index into four parts. Liechtenstein merged those four volumes into one large index. We leave some other minor changes by Liechtenstein unmentioned here; see Voorbij 1991, *o.c.*, p. 342-343 for further details.

[40] *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* M40784. We used the digitised copy (Rar. 287) from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at München: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00034024?page=1 .

[41] *Imperij Romani preeminentia in rebus terrenis*, *Electorum Imperij Institutio* and *Modus eligendi imperatorum*, copied from Koberger's 1493 edition fols. CLXXXIII^{r}-CLXXXV^{r}.

The ultimate book, however, XXXI in the Liechtenstein edition, has undergone the greatest changes. Whereas the historiography in the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* ends around 1254, with chapter 105 entitled *De temporibus presentibus*, Liechtenstein continued Vincent's historiography until 1493. This continuation consists entirely of passages taken from Hartman Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum*. A prose text (*De morte ac fine rerum*) and two short poems about the end of the world follow, also taken from Hartmann Schedel.[42] Only then does this book continue with Vincent's exposition on the end of the world (chapters 106-128), which forms the conclusion of the *Speculum Historiale*. The Liechtenstein edition omits most of the already mentioned chapter 105, the introduction to that exposition. The original chapters 106-128 have remained unnumbered here.

8. Dominico Nicolini, Venice (1591)

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale*: text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to books 2-33 of the manuscripts.
- ✓ *Speculum Doctrinale*: text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* that corresponds to books 2-18 of the manuscripts.
- ✓ *Speculum Morale*: apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.
- ✓ *Speculum Historiale*: text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to books 2-32 of the manuscripts.

Nicolini's edition is a re-edition of Hermann Liechtenstein's 1493-1494 edition, including his interventions in Vincent's text. Yet, Nicolini has also made some adjustments. The *Speculum Naturale* now opens with two dedications, both dated 1591. Apart from this, Nicolini slightly refined the major interventions at the end of the *Speculum Historiale*. He gave the continuation to 1493, inserted in book XXXI after c. 105, a chapter numbering from 1 to 91. The chapters of Vincent's subsequent account on the end of the world, including passages from Hartmann Schedel's work, he renumbered 92 to 115. Book XXXI thus has two consecutive sets of chapters in this edition.

The edition is available for online consultation.[43]

[42] Edition Koberger 1493, fols. CCLXIII^{v}-CCLXIIII^{r-v}.
[43] Available at several websites, *e.g,*. *Speculum Naturale*: https://books.google.be/books?id=SjB4WZsoewsC&redir_esc=y ; *Speculum Doctrinale*: https://books.google.be/books?id=u9QHjGhLpFwC&redir_esc=y ; *Speculum Morale*: https://books.google.be/books?id=7YESIaykLLsC&redir_esc=y ; and *Speculum Historiale*: https://archive.org/details/SpeculiMaiorisVincentiiTomus4/page/n25/mode/2up .

9. Balthasar Bellère, Douai (1624) (anastatical reprint: Graz, 1964-1965)

- ✓ *Speculum Naturale*: text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Naturale* that corresponds to books 2-33 of the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Doctrinale*: text of the *Speculum Doctrinale* that corresponds to books 2-18 of the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Morale*: apocryphal text in 3 books that corresponds to the manuscripts.

- ✓ *Speculum Historiale*: text of the Douai version of the *Speculum Historiale* that corresponds to books 2-32 of the manuscripts.

The Benedictines of the Saint-Vaast monastery in Arras, responsible for this four-volume edition printed by Balthasar Bellère, have given the work the title *Bibliotheca Mundi seu Speculum Maius*. In their preface, they state they based the edition on manuscripts and two earlier editions of the *Speculum Maius* on the one hand and, on the other, on the sources cited by Vincent.[44] Judging by the many literal similarities with Liechtenstein's and Nicolini's editions, the Benedictines must have consulted one of those two. We have not yet identified the second edition. Which manuscripts the editors used is also not clear. It is certain, however, that these were used to check some points of the previous editions of the *Speculum Maius*.[45]

As in the Liechtenstein and Nicolini editions, the *Libellus Apologeticus* is printed only once in this edition, preceding the *Speculum Naturale*. Again, this *speculum* has 32 books, while the *Speculum Doctrinale* has 17, the *Speculum Morale* 3, and the *Speculum Historiale* 31. Unlike the Venetian editions, the editors placed the lists of chapter titles and the alphabetical subject indexes at the very back of the *specula*. They omitted the introduction to the list of chapter titles, which was common in the manuscripts and previous editions of the *Speculum Historiale* (Douai version). They included some text fragments, partly quoted from works by humanist authors, at the front of each *speculum*, commending the *speculum* in question.

Here, again, the *Speculum Historiale* has undergone the most interventions. The editors placed the exposition on Roman emperors and the election of emperors and Roman kings, printed at the front of the *Speculum Historiale* in the Venetian editions, at the back, after the

[44] Douai 1624, vol. 1 (*Speculum Naturale*), p. xi-xii: "(…) cum manuscriptis, et duabus impressis editionibus contulimus, ipsos etiam fontes, e quibus autor haec deriuaiut, (…) diligenter et fideliter inspeximus."

[45] The editors verified in manuscripts of the *Speculum Doctrinale* whether the text ends there as abruptly as in the editions used, which indeed proved to be the case: "De opere etiam ipso hoc est submonendum volumen secundum, quod Speculum Doctrinale inscripsit, imperfectum esse. Deest enim magna pars vltimi libri, in qua parte duo sibi [= *Vincentio* H.V.] proposuit exequenda: nempe, quomodo inuestigari possint scripturarum profunda mysteria, quoque pacto inuestigata doceri & exponi. Quae duo cum non inueniamus in vllis exemplaribus, apparet eum non perfecisse quod proposuerat, forsitan Episcopali cura a tanti operis molimine diuulsum"; see Douai 1624, vol. 1 (*Speculum Naturale*), p. xii.

exposition on the end of the world and immediately preceding the registers.[46] The editors omitted the continuation from 1254 to 1493. After the very short chapter 105, "De temporibus presentibus"—the missing section, already mentioned at the Liechtenstein edition—the editors retained the prose text "De morte ac fine rerum" and one of the two short poems on the end of the world, now designated as chapter 106. The subsequent exposition on the end of the world now comprises chapters 107-129.

The Douai 1624 edition is available for online consultation.[47]

[46] The editors justified this displacement thus: "Imperatoris Romani eligendi institutionem ac formam (...) ab Auctore [*sic!* H.V.] descriptam et in principio operis antehac impressam, hic commodius apponendum putauimus"; see Douai 1624, vol. 4 (*Speculum Historiale*), p. 1333-1334.

[47] Available at several websites, *e.g.*, *Speculum Naturale*: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_6gtiTRkKt8IC/page/n27/mode/2up ; *Speculum Doctrinale*: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_ruQnJqKJOC8C/mode/2up ; *Speculum Morale*: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_ZHgEYwfkh8wC/page/n5/mode/2up ; and *Speculum Historiale*: https://archive.org/details/BibliothecaMundiVincentiiBurgundi4/page/n13/mode/2up .

Work in progress:

The genesis of the *Speculum Maius* of Vincent of Beauvais (†1264)

Eva Albrecht

In the forty-third issue of the Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter published in 2019, I presented an article entitled 'New Research of the *Speculum Naturale* and *Doctrinale* Manuscripts after Surprising Observations in Manuscript 15 of Exeter College'.[1] Simon Tugwell's meticulous examination of manuscript 15 of Exeter College, Oxford, which uncovered a new version of the *Speculum Naturale*, inspired the article.[2] This discovery brings the number of known versions of this *speculum* to four. A comprehensive study of all manuscripts of the *Speculum Naturale*, as well as the *Speculum Doctrinale*, proved essential for integrating Tugwell's findings into the complex genesis of both texts. I expected to publish my results no earlier than 2021. In the article, Hans Voorbij and I announced our plans for a monograph to present the findings from our PhD research on the *Speculum Historiale* and *Speculum Naturale*, along with related discoveries over the past decade.

Occasionally, reality catches up with you. My research into the various manuscripts of the *Speculum Naturale* revealed a need for a much broader context to study the four versions' unique features. To fully appreciate the genesis of the *Speculum Naturale*, it was essential to research and describe the other parts of the *Speculum Maius*, including their various versions and related texts. This comprehensive approach has sometimes reframed or clarified the findings from the PhD studies of both Voorbij and me. This has made a collaborative monograph on our research results obsolete. In my upcoming monograph, tentatively titled 'The Genesis of the *Speculum Maius* of Vincent of Beauvais (†1264)', I aim to merge both projects and undertake an analysis of the two-decade journey that Vincent of Beauvais embarked on with the *Speculum Maius*. Given the advanced stage of the manuscript, I expect it to be completed by the fall of 2025.

[1] *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter*, 43 (2019), 17-19.
[2] Simon Tugwell, 'Soundings in Exeter college ms 15 and the evolution of Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum Naturale', in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum. Nova series,* II (2017), p. 5-156.

Recent publications dealing with Vincent of Beauvais

2021

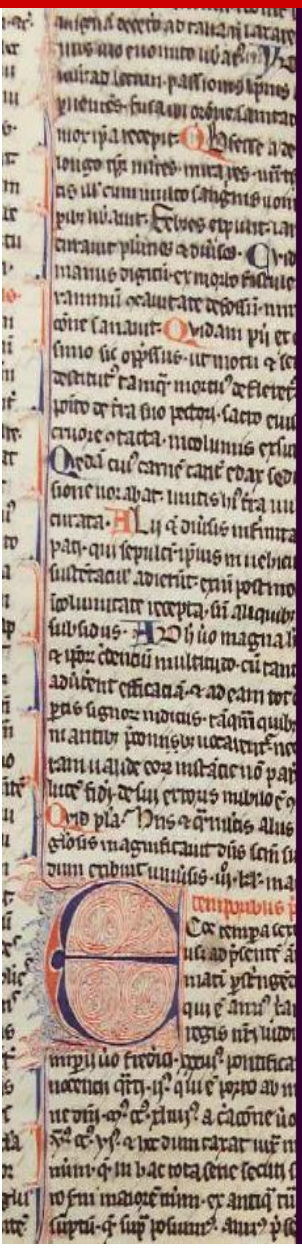
Armelle Le Huërou, 'Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* IX, 113-114', in Mazel Florian (ed.), *La fabrique d'une légende: Saint Julien du Mans et son culte au Moyen Âge (IXe-XIIIe siècle)*, Rennes 2021 (Presses Universitaires de Rennes), pp. 253-255.

2023

Marie-Pascale Halary, 'Traduire le *De diligendo Deo* de Bernard de Clairvaux au Moyen Âge: vernacularisation et vulgarisation', in *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 109/262 (2023), pp. 13-34.

Silverio Franzoni and Elisa Lonati**,** *'Refert Agellius*…: Les Nuits Attiques d'Aulu-Gelle entre Hélinand de Froidmont et Vincent de Beauvais', in *Sacris Erudiri*, 62 (2023), pp. 307-358.

Elisa Lonati, 'Comment écrire une compilation sans perdre sa voix. Hélinand de Froidmont, Vincent de Beauvais et Aubri de Trois-Fontaines auctores de leurs œuvres', in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi,* 80 – 2022-2023 (2023), pp. 177-237.



Colophon

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